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Of the remaining papers, one is on William Lowndes Yancey, "the orator of secession". Another is on the resources of the Confederacy. This is based on Professor John C. Schwab's excellent work on the financial and industrial history of the south during the Civil War. The third is a concise account of the origin and organization of the Kuklux movement in the first years following the war. The fourth, "A New Hero of an Old Type", is a rhetorical eulogy on Lieutenant Richard Hobson. The fifth and last is entitled "Shifting the White Man's Burden". In this paper the author considers the disfranchise movement in the south, but finds no solution of the problem. Mr. Brown has written an interesting and suggestive book. His treatment is fair; his statement is clear though at times he is somewhat too rhetorical. The book is not a history, but is an excellent beginning toward one. It makes little if any contribution of fact, and its chief value is in its suggestiveness.

JOHN WILLIAM PERRIN.

The Republican Party: A History of its Fifty Years' Existence and a Record of its Measures and Leaders, 1854-1904. By FRANCIS CURTIS. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904. Two vols., pp. xxi, 532; v, 566.)

THESE volumes are written by a candid party advocate. The author, obviously, has believed in the Republican party in the past, believes in it to-day, and bids fair to continue to believe in it in time to come. The volumes contain a "Foreword" by President Roosevelt and "Introductions" by Hon. William P. Frye, President *pro tempore* of the Senate, and Hon. J. G. Cannon, Speaker of the House of Representatives. The work may be regarded, therefore, as a party history officially recognized. Though not impartial, the work may be said to be useful and fair, as it accomplishes very well its aim of setting forth fully and clearly, though without attempt at philosophical exposition, what the Republican party has accomplished during the fifty years of its history. The author does this with a good sense of proportion and selection. Whatever one may think of Republican policies, the life of one of our great parties will be recognized as a theme worthy of the party historian; and as a record of party creed and achievement Mr. Curtis's work is worthy of commendation and appreciation.

The author opens his work with the birth of the Republican party under the oaks at Jackson, the fiftieth anniversary of which event has recently been fittingly celebrated; yet half his first volume is taken up with a preliminary review of the great slavery controversy that brought the Republican party into being. The author goes at considerable length into the formative and heroic period of the Republican party, when it contended against the extension of slavery, when it required nerve, the severance of party ties, and the sacrifice of personal reputations and interests to stand for the cause; and he very properly gives large space to the complex party situation of 1854 and 1856. Scant attention is

given to the Liberty party in 1844, but partial recognition is made (due to Senator Hoar's example and mugwumpery of that day) of the Free-soil platform of 1848 as the forerunner of the Republican position of 1856. The Know-nothing movement is fully treated, and the beginnings of the Republican party in 1854, by spontaneous movements and meetings in various states in the north in opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, are traced in considerable detail. To the special student of party history in America the material brought together from articles, letters, speeches, and reminiscences in this part of Mr. Curtis's work relating to the credit due for the origins of his party are of much interest and value.

Mr. Curtis denies the right of the present Democratic party to claim its ancestry in Jefferson. The founder of the Democratic party is referred to as an "ardent protectionist", and no distinction is made between the Anti-Federal party that opposed the adoption of the Constitution and the Democratic-Republican party of Jefferson that had its birth in a conflict over questions of Constitutional construction. The hyphenated word "Democratic-Republican" Mr. Curtis discards altogether, holding that the party of Jefferson was merely "Republican", as by that name alone Jefferson always sought to call his party. Jefferson's desire no doubt prevailed after his party came into unquestioned power and reputation, and it might be just as well to do as Mr. Curtis does, apply the single name "Republican" to the old party of Jefferson, if it were possible to change historical terminology. But the effort must be regarded as quite vain wherein the author seeks to make the Republican party of Jefferson the forebears, not of the modern Democratic party, but of the Whigs, and, therefore, by implication, of the modern Republicans. "The old Republican party, as such," he says, "was merged almost wholly into the Whig party"; "the campaign of 1828 can well be said to be a conflict between Republicans and Democrats"; "The name National Republican was retained until the campaign of 1832, when the party became known as the Anti-Mason party, afterwards the Whigs." Subsequently in speaking of the Antimasonic party the author says, with an apparent inconsistency, "The old Federalists were very glad of the opportunity to get together in a new organization, and eagerly welcomed the advent of the anti-Masonic party" (I, 80). The modern Democratic party, he thinks, finds its origin under Jackson in 1828, "now, for the first time, triumphant", and it was composed "largely of the inhabitants of the slaveholding States". All this is confusing, if not misleading, and it throws no light on the conflicting claims of the Jacksonian Democrats and the Clay Whigs to be the linear descendants of the Jeffersonian Republicans. A historical argument may be made for either view, but the burden of the argument is in favor of the Democrats, though evidently Mr. Curtis does not consider it his office to vindicate the claim of the opposing client.

The bulk of Mr. Curtis's volumes is very properly occupied with giving, in historical order, the record of the issues, platforms, and con-

tests with which the country has had to do since 1856. Here may be found, in large measure, the political history of the last fifty years. Special interest attaches to the conventions and campaigns of 1860, 1864, 1880, and 1884. Light notice is taken, very naturally, of the shortcomings of the party, either of the last generation or of this. But in the record of the party conventions many interesting nominating speeches and party discussions are given, and the proceedings and decisions are set forth by which the evolution of the unwritten party law is revealed. Some readers will be disappointed and surprised that more attention is not given to the development of party machinery and to the importance of party organization, practice, and usage in popular government; for on this line we find one of the most striking characteristics of our party life during the lifetime of the Republican party. The most recent events and issues in our party history are discussed from the Republican point of view, and the volumes may be regarded as a good and useful summary of Republican principles and policies, with the party defenses well and ably guarded.

In his closing chapter, on "Defections from the Party", which is largely a discussion of party ethics, Mr. Curtis makes a plea at length in favor of party fealty and against the spirit of the mugwump. Of the four historic Republican defections, the first, that of 1864, says Mr. Curtis, was "only a flash in the pan"; the second, that of 1872, was a failure that brought only ridicule to its cause and death to its candidate; the third, that of 1884, was based on a false charge, and he condemns its leader, Mr. George William Curtis, as "bound in honor to support the ticket and platform" (II, 472) which he helped to make; the fourth defection, that of the Silver Republicans in 1896, strengthened the party rather than weakened it. The mugwumps, the author declares, have in no way influenced party nominations or the course of party history; to the credit of electing Cleveland, if credit it be and if such credit can be claimed, the author allows the mugwumps to be entirely welcome. Considerable attention is given to Mr. George William Curtis and Mr. Carl Schurz as leaders of mugwump opinion, and severe criticism is meted out to the *Springfield Republican* as a typical mugwump journal, which is characterized as making "untruthful and unjust attacks . . . upon the nation's trusted officers" (II, 481).

The appendix of the work contains a good deal of good party material. Students and readers who are interested in American politics and party history will find cause of gratitude to Mr. Curtis for the result of his labor.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

The History of Twenty-five Years. By Sir SPENCER WALPOLE, K.C.B. Volume I, 1856-1865; Volume II, 1865-1870. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1904. Two vols., pp. xviii, 529; xiv, 525.)

It is twenty years since Sir Spencer Walpole completed his six-